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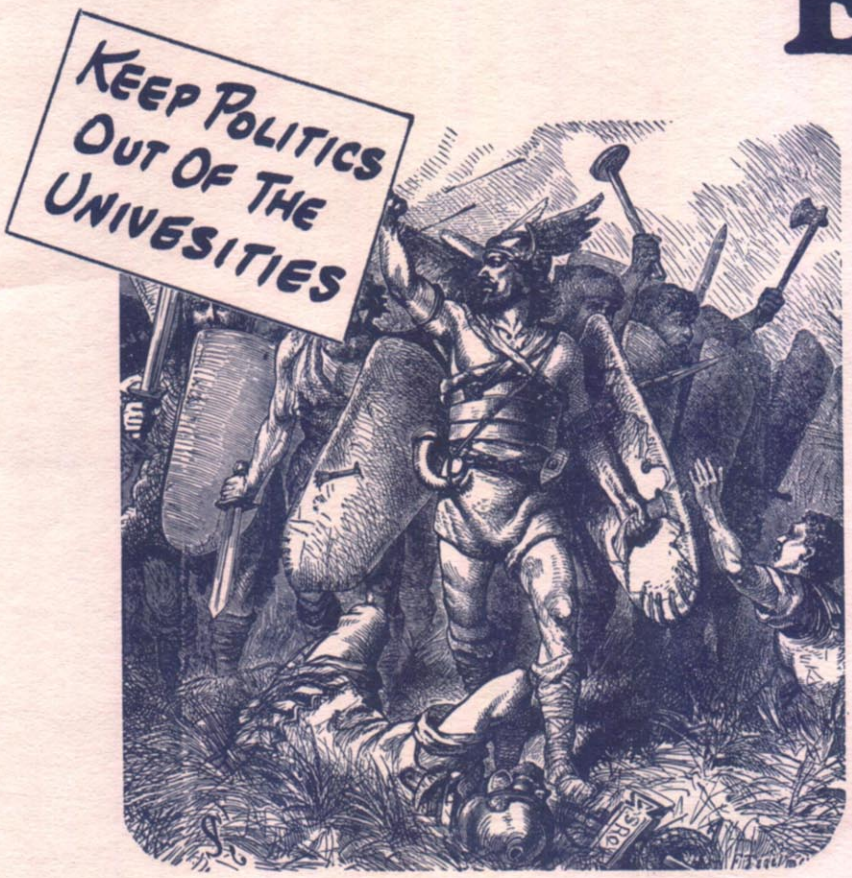
by John Kurzweil



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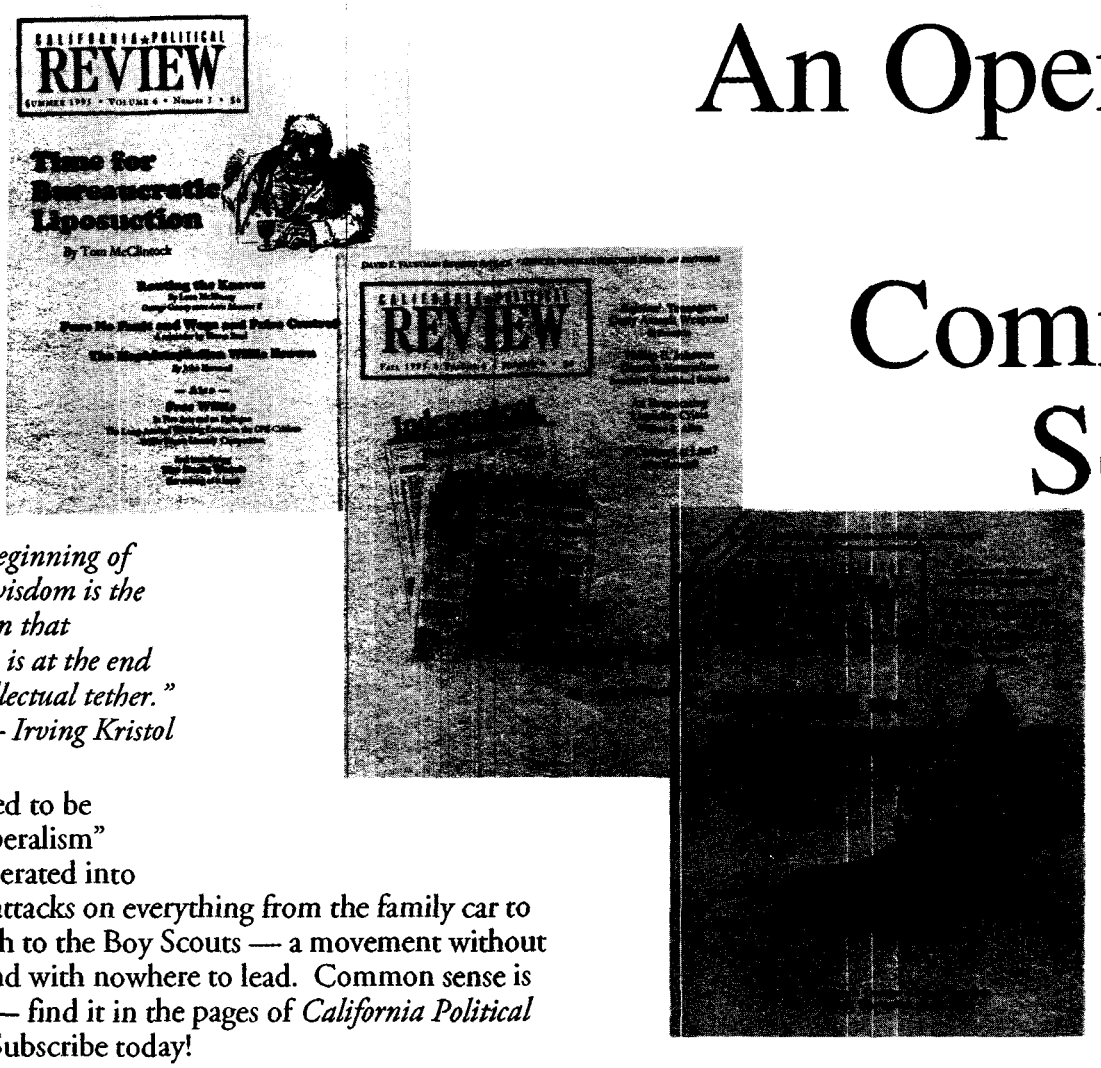

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— Irving Kristol

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CORRESPONDENCE

One of Our Best Ever

CPR's January/February '96 issue was great — one of your best ever. Congratulations on going bi-monthly.

William A. Rusher
San Francisco

Driverless Caddy Says It All

Congratulations on your January/February cover. The driverless Cadillac looming over our state Capitol, complete with the "For Sale" sign, says it better than any editorial cartoon I have yet seen.

This time it is the remnants of Willie Brown's opulence and arrogance that are for sale, rather than our state's future. The citizens of California will now witness representative government run as it should be run, and the scoundrel Brown will be more conspicuous in his absence than he ever was from the speaker's dais.

Holland Middleton
Sacramento

In the market for a slightly used symbol of opulence and arrogance? Stop by "Brasher's" in Sacramento where the Caddies will be auctioned March 22. Special thanks to Assemblyman Jim Battin whose office helped CPR obtain the photo.
— Editor

Bare-Knuckles Junta Toppling

Thank you for Jim Rogan's description of how Willie Brown's ruling junta was finally toppled ("How the Willie-Paul-Doris-Brian-Democrat Banana Republic of California fell at last," *CPR*, January/February).

I usually turn to your publication for thoughtful conservative pontification. However, such a breathless, first-hand account of the bare-knuckles confrontation, where the balance of power in California hung so precariously in the balance, was enough to get my adrenaline rushing even after my afternoon *cappuccino latte* had worn off. It was indeed pleasurable reading.

I do regret that the talented and tenacious Rogan will be leaving the Assembly in his run for Congress. Our state's loss of such a talented patriot is the nation's gain. Washington D.C. may never be the same again.

Francis Duclos
Northridge

Freddy Pfaelzer

How surprising! A federal judge about whom we can't tell whether the problem is incompetence or corruption — maybe both! Judge Mariana Pfaelzer's shameless anti-Proposition 187 obstructionism ("Lerach Untracked, Pfaelzer's Follies," *CPR*, January/February) is yet one more reminder of how far we still must go before any serious talk of a Republican Revolution or a "national political watershed" is justified. Not that I'm discouraged. We've come a long way. But, for now, let's can the big talk about the "death" of liberalism and concentrate on completing the kill.

Joseph Williamson
San Diego

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Spring is approaching in the capital and the hills are alive, not with the sound of music, but with the sound of Democrat whining. Speaker Curt Pringle and his leadership are giving the Democrats exactly the treatment the Democrats gave the GOP for the last 25 years. And the Democrats are shocked, saddened, outraged, and just plain in a frump about it.

It is truly instructive to see how far removed from reality the Democrat majority had become under the spell of Willie Brown. They had no idea they would ever lose their exalted status, even after the voters decreed so last November. They had no advance notice, even after two recalls, that Republicans had their act together, though it was common knowledge for days in the chic salons and stylish soirèes habituated by your *Spectator*. Hubris has delivered a harsh judgement on the Democrats in Sacramento, and it may be years before they recover.

The telling moment on that particular judgement, of course, will be the judgement of the voters *next* November. The preliminary signs are favorable for the GOP. The ever-pliant big business interests in the lobbyist community are now pouring money into the campaign coffers of their friends — just as under Willie Brown they poured money into the campaign coffers of their enemies.

If any element here does *not* deserve to enjoy the Republican ascendency it is the GOP corporate socialist community. For years they sniffed at the "cavemen" and then at the "extremists" controlling the GOP caucus who just wouldn't work for "positive solutions" with "open minded, middle of the road" Democrats like John Burton, Maxine Waters, and John Vasconcellos. Of course the Democrats were doing what *big* business *really* wanted — throwing legislative and regulatory road blocks into the path of any prospective competition!

Now, however, you'd swear these corporate giants had been secret militia members all along. They *are* at least providing Republicans the campaign warchests for the kind of fight necessary to maintain a majority. Keeping that majority will depend on many factors, most not yet determined. But it is very encouraging to see a GOP 3-to-1 money advantage over Assembly Democrats. This margin should widen, which alone gives Pringle a fighting chance to stay in control no matter what happens at the top of the ticket.

The other item dominating the chattering class up here is the rude way in which Senator Bob Dole allowed Governor Wilson and his operation to shove Attorney General Dan Lungren to the sidelines in Dole's presidential campaign. Lungren's brother Brian had been the Dole state coordinator. About a month ago he was replaced by Marty Wilson, an old Pete Wilson (no relation) hand.

Those *not* in the Dole campaign were heartened by this occurrence, actually. First, Brian Lungren is a resourceful political operative who has had a major role in his brother's campaign successes. Marty Wilson is strictly a "paint by the numbers" strategist, who can be counted on to deviate not an iota from the standard campaign play book. That doesn't always do the job in California.

Second, the transition was exceptionally ham-handed. The Lungrens, given little notice, had no time to prepare any face-saving explanations. Dole's campaign says both Lungrens are still "integral" parts of the campaign (well, at least so far, both are still officially involved). But your *Spectator* has it on unassailable authority that the brothers are steamed. Bottom line: don't look for many Wilson hold-overs if Dan Lungren becomes governor in 1998. That's all for now, kids. Catch ya next issue.

—A.P.C.

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Moderation To Excess
or
Exorcise Rose Bird

MARK S. PULLIAM

In this primary season, federalism provides some small consolation for the debacle the campaign for the Republican presidential nomination threatens to become. Who would have guessed six months ago that a beleaguered Bob Dole would be attacking New Hampshire front-runner Pat Buchanan for his "extreme" and "radical" views, such as opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment some 15 years ago? This is the type of rhetoric that will ensure the polarization of the Republican Party, the re-election of Bill Clinton, and perhaps even the loss of GOP control of Congress.

But notwithstanding the fiasco our federal candidates are on the brink of achieving, California appears to be in good shape. Willie is gone, the Assembly is passing needed reforms, and the governor is displaying courageous leadership on issues such as affirmative action and CCRI. Fresh from a landslide re-election, Dan Lungren is on deck to succeed Pete Wilson in 1998. The Democrat opposition is in disarray, with no real "headliner" to lead the ticket on a statewide basis. Things look downright rosy in California.

Since the governor appoints most state court judges, and since we have had a Republican governor continuously since 1982, the California judiciary — and in particular the Supreme Court — should epitomize GOP ascendancy. Indeed, of the seven members of the California Supreme Court, Governors George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson have appointed six. Only 83-year-old Stanley Mosk, appointed in 1964 by Pat Brown, is a Democrat. Malcolm Lucas, appointed to the Court by Deukmejian in 1984 and promoted to chief justice in 1989, is due to retire in May. Insiders expect Wilson to promote Associate Justice Ronald George, whom he appointed in 1991, to chief justice. Armand Arabian, appointed by Deukmejian in 1990, retired in late February, and has now been replaced by Ming W. Chin, whom Wilson appointed to the Court of Appeal in 1990 and then appointed presiding justice in 1994. The Supreme Court's other associate justices are Marvin Baxter, appointed by Deukmejian (for whom he had previously served as judicial appointments secretary) in 1991; Joyce Kennard, appointed by Deukmejian in 1989; and Kathryn Werdegar, appointed by Wilson in 1994. Rumors have Ronald George being replaced as associate justice by former U.S. Attorney and U.S. District Judge Robert Bonner, now in private practice in Los Angeles.

Of all the branches of state government, the judiciary ought to be most predictably principled. Because of the number of Republican appointees, the current Supreme Court is often described as, and almost always assumed to be, "staunchly conservative" and "pro-business." Despite the Court's pedigree, I wince whenever I hear those labels. Not because the Court isn't a lot more conservative and pro-business than the Supreme Court of the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the infamous Rose Bird (appointed by Jerry Brown in 1977) was chief justice in charge of an ultra-liberal majority. Her allies at various times during this period included Cruz Reynoso, Joseph Grodin (both of whom were voted off the bench, along with Bird, in the 1986 election), Frank Newman, Allen Broussard, Wiley Manuel, and Stanley Mosk. The so-called Lucas Court is much more conservative, especially in criminal cases, than the Bird Court.

Why, then, do I wince? Because the current Court still leaves much to be desired, particularly on economic, property rights, and business issues. Whether by temperament, philosophy, the influence of an entrenched staff, or for other reasons, the Lucas Court has maintained a self-conscious "moderation" that sometimes results in breathtaking decisions as wrong-

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

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EDITORIAL

Prop. 198: Ending Honest Primaries

Republicans — do you think Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda should help choose your nominees to state and federal offices? Democrats — would you like to share your right to choose Democrat candidates with Curt Pringle, Bruce Herschensohn, and H. L. Richardson? Independents — do you believe elections will be more honest if candidates who could never win the votes of a majority of Republicans or Democrats are nonetheless paraded in November elections as the "Republican" and "Democrat" nominees?

This is the vision of "honest" and "open" elections promised by Proposition 198 on California's March ballot. It provides that primary elections will go on being advertised as one thing but will become, in fact, something entirely different. Under 198, any registered voter will be able to vote for Democrat, Republican, AIP, Green, Libertarian, or any other party nominee on one omnibus "primary" ballot. In effect, primaries will become preliminary general elections. That could be achieved more honestly simply by ending partisan primaries and holding general elections with run-offs of the highest vote getters.

Proposition 198's authors could have proposed such a change, but chose not to. Instead, they seek to maintain the illusion of straightforward partisan primaries even though, the parties' roles would be grossly distorted.

Why advocate such confusion? One reason: certain wealthy interests whose hand-picked candidates have been rejected by party voters in past primaries see 198 as a way of gaining party endorsement without having to win the actual support of party voters. Again, why? 198's backers portray the parties as odious political machines standing between voters and political power. Why work so hard to fly under these very party banners?

Because, of course, party identification is extremely valuable to candidates. What they know, but won't say publicly, is that most voters trust the primary system. When it produces a candidate labeled "Democrat" or "Republican" or "Libertarian," that is exactly what the candidate is — the honest representative of that party's positions as held by its own voting members. We may not like these party choices, but we know them for what they are.

This public trust is enormously important to any candidate. Hundreds of donors, thousands of campaign workers, and millions of voters consider candidates' party labels very seriously before deciding whom to support. Politicians know this, and they know that for a time, if Proposition 198 passes, voters will still place their faith in the primary system. For a while, a phoney "Republican" nominee, having won, say, a U.S. Senate primary through the support of non-Republicans, will still be accepted by most Californians as the true representative of the Republican party. They will be deceived.

In 1972, Michigan Democrats surprised the world by choosing George Wallace for president in their state primary. The trouble was, Republicans could vote in the "Democrat" primary too. Everyone knew the GOP choice would be the unopposed Richard Nixon. Michigan Republicans, it was widely assumed, crossed-over to vote for Wallace, casting their ballots, in effect, for Democrat confusion, a result the election richly achieved.

If primaries like Michigan's in 1972 became the rule, could we place any faith in them? What would they tell us? How would they allow voters honestly to register their true preferences? If Proposition 198 becomes law, where will we go for honesty in our elections, the primary system having been knocked flat? Proposition 198 is a formula for eliminating one of the few remaining trustworthy elements our political system possesses. CPR

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headed and foolish as anything Rose Bird and her cohorts ever concocted.

I will mention four examples, although many more could be cited. In *20th Century Ins. Co. v. Garamendi,* 8 Cal. 4th 216 (1994), the Supreme Court upheld Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi's application of Proposition 103, the punitive insurance premium rollback initiative, in the face of insurers' claims that the denial of a fair "rate of return" (or profit) constituted a "taking" of their property. 20th Century, one of the most efficient insurers, and offering among the lowest rates, argued that it was entitled to earn more than the 10 percent profit permitted by Garamendi's regulations. No such luck. The much-vaunted "pro-business conservatives" gave the opinion-writing assignment to arch-liberal Mosk, who proceeded to conclude — standing constitutional law precedents on their head — that economic regulation is not confiscatory unless it thrusts the company into "deep financial hardship." Stranger still, unlike the Bird era, when typically a lucid dissent would be written by Frank Richardson or William Clark, in *20th Century* the decision was *unanimous.* Worse, when Mosk opined in a further, concurring opinion that California actually *is* free to destroy businesses through confiscatory regulation, *none* of the members of the "conservative" majority disputed this egregious constitutional over-reaching.

My second example is more recent: *Scott v. Pacific Gas & Electric,* 11 Cal. 4th 454, decided in November 1995. In *Scott,* the Supreme Court upheld a $1.5 million jury verdict against a utility company for demoting (but not firing) two engineers. In the process, the justices recognized a new breed of lawsuit: for "wrongful demotion" based on an "implied contract" (legalese for "no contract at all"). This, despite a statute that makes employment terminable "at will." No other state in the country recognizes such a dubious claim. Again, the *unanimous* decision was assigned to the Court's most liberal member, Mosk, to write. Because Baxter and Werdegar disqualified themselves, Court of Appeal Justices Robert Puglia (usually regarded as Dan Lungren's first pick for the Supreme Court if he is elected governor) and Christopher Cottle sat in their place, and obligingly signed Mosk's execrable opinion.

The third example is *Hensler v. City of Glendale,* 8 Cal. 4th 1 (1994). There the Supreme Court (in an opinion authored by Justice Marvin Baxter) unanimously erected wellnigh insurmountable barriers to claims of regulatory takings that effectively bar all but the wealthiest Californians from seeking relief in the courts for takings of their land by confiscatory regulations. After *Hensler* it will take *four* separate administrative and court proceedings before California land owners will be able to present their case for constitutionally-mandated "just compensation." This gratuitously anti-property rights ruling was given an Orwellian twist. Baxter's *Hensler* opinion denied that the Court's 1979 *Agins* opinion had precluded recovery of just compensation for regulatory takings (although it plainly had) and that *Agins* had been overruled on this point (although it plainly was) in 1987 by the U.S. Supreme Court's celebrated opinion in *First English Evangelical Lutheran Church v. County of Los Angeles,* 482 U.S. 304 (1987).

All four decisions are examples of liberal judicial activism and a doctrinaire hostility to business and individual property rights. How can this happen on a Court comprised overwhelmingly of Republican appointments?

My final example is *Lazar v. Superior Court,* 12 Cal. 4th 631, decided on January 29, 1996. The Court opened a huge loophole in the sensible rule it had created in 1988 that wrongful termination lawsuits generally give rise only to contract damages (lost earnings) rather than so-called "tort" damages (emotional distress and punitive damages). Under *Lazar,* employees who relocate to a new job may sue their employer for *fraud* if the job is not exactly as it was described during the recruiting process. Every disgruntled employee who relocated prior to or during employment — in today's mobile society, that's nearly everyone — can now play the "litigation lottery" California's legal system has become. All seven justices agreed on the result, but Kennard (surely Deukmejian's biggest mistake as governor) and Mosk wrote separate concurring opinions making it clear that Werdegar's *Lazar* opinion for the Court didn't go far enough.

All four of these decisions make California less hospitable to commerce and employers. They were all wrongly decided. They are all examples of liberal judicial activism and a doctrinaire hostility to business and individual property rights. How can this be happening on a Court comprised overwhelmingly of Republican appointments? As we bask in the satisfaction that California appears to be on track politically, this is a question we ought to ask ourselves. There's only one answer, albeit indelicate: the judges Deukmejian and Wilson have appointed to the bench are either insufficiently committed to conservative principles or inadequately equipped intellectually. In short, the governor

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needs to appoint better people. The Republican revolution that delivered control of the Assembly and Congress has fallen sadly short in the California Supreme Court. The moderates are killing us, yet these terrible decisions are spared the criticism they deserve because the judges are Republican appointments. The spirit of Rose Bird, which appears to linger on the Court, must be exorcised once and for all. CPR

THE WORKING PRESS

Willie Goes Local, Gets National Press

TIM W. FERGUSON

I AM NOW beginning to wonder why I didn't look into local government sooner," said dandy Mayor Willie Brown to the *New York Times*. No wonder. The national media never had much time for a cowtown like Sacramento, but San Francisco is pleasant duty. So the *Times* and others are happy to report on a city agog over its new potentate.

All the News That's Fit to Print included some cautionary notes. Willie's idea of having "reformed" gang bangers patrol the Muni bus system crashed and burned, and his promise not to arrest so many tramps is unlikely to wear well. But the new reign is all great fun, and as long as enough businesses stay around to pay the taxes that maintain the city's credit rating, the show will continue to win general popular and press approval.

Conservatives might find something to like in Brown's reimposition of a dress code at City Hall. Maybe Da Mayor can use his influence at the Board of Education to see that teachers, too, quit dressing down, as many have since their unions took control of the classrooms a generation ago. These days, schoolmarms (and masters) don't even dress up for a strike.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Speaking of schools, did you hear about the poll in the *Orange County Business Journal* that found that half the voters statewide (and a slight majority in O.C.) favor school vouchers? Perhaps the most interesting twist was who conducted the poll: Nelson Communications. School reformers recall it was the same "Republican" outfit that was hired by the teacher unions to destroy Proposition 174. This survey found considerably fewer women than men were supportive of school choice, with correspondingly greater numbers of the ladies thinking the public schools are hunky-dory. This and other electoral patterns of late suggest reconsideration of universal suffrage may be in order.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

State Senator Diane Watson is one of a number of race hustlers prominent in Los Angeles black political circles. In recent months, she has upbraided L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan in front of a King Day crowd they were both addressing, and then let loose at Ward Connerly, Mr. Civil Rights Initiative, for betraying his race. His gravest sin, in her eyes, appeared to be not his alliance with Governor Wilson on the November ballot measure, but the fact he married a white woman. If staying true to his color would have condemned Mr. Connerly to a mate the likes of loud, thick, and scowling Senator Watson (a former "educator"), one can understand the regent's cosmopolitan tastes. In any case, she probably helps the cause of CCRI as much as he does.

The nasty Watson-Connerly exchange prompted the *Los Angeles Times* to issue a rare editorial scold of a black demagogue in its midst, although it also held Mr. Connerly liable for telling her off.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

For the sake of race relations in still-raw L.A., the narrow victory of Yvonne Brathwaite-Burke over

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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Diane Watson for county supervisor in 1992 might have been the luckiest outcome of the decade. Not so lucky for Sacramento, perhaps. The latest "Minnie" rankings from *California Journal,* which are based on surveys of Capitol insiders and therefore tend to favor liberal legislators, nevertheless place Watson in the bottom quartile among state senators despite her 16 years of seniority in Sacramento.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Racial demagoguery in town doesn't upset the *LA Times* as much today as it did when Mayor Sam Yorty practiced it years ago, but the paper *has* found something to be aroused about: caller ID. That's the service that the phone companies finally are about to bring to California, last in the nation to get it. The Public Utilities Commission delayed it as long as possible, under pressure from the advocacy groups that hover about that agency. Those consumerists see the innovation as one big scheme by Pac Bell to sell a technology to those (especially direct-marketers) who want to capture the numbers of unwitting callers and then to hound them with solicitations. Lost is the fact that lots of ordinary people would like this option in order to screen out pests or as a slight defense against obscene or harassing calls (slight because the caller can still block out his number, thanks to previous "consumer" demands).

Whichever way one comes down, it's hard to fathom the *Times'* editorial fervor: "Callers beware: The phone companies are telling the PUC that even with the company's *[sic]* education campaigns, 35 percent to 65 percent of phone users won't be aware of Caller ID. Shameful." Of all the civic outrages, this one is *shameful?*

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

By the way, members of the public who try to dial the PUC are told that the line is staffed only 15 hours a week because of "cutbacks." Since the agency is funded by an earmarked tax on utility bills, one might wonder, why the pinch? Turns out that when trucking was deregulated, the agency was to lose about 16 percent of its staff. A late funding "find" spared the layoffs, but about 9 percent of the employees already had managed to transfer to other bureaucracies, and the PUC for seven months has been going through a cumbersome civil-service procedure to replace them. Meantime, it will punish the people who pay the bill, of course. With the agency based in San Francisco, it gets little attention from the capital press corps.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

When will we be reading about bad timing being Pete Wilson's worst enemy in his presidential bid? He quit before the complaint about a "weak GOP field" (which was his stated basis for running) became a media chorus. He was out of money before the Securities and Exchange Commission reversed a rule that barred muni-bond dealers from contributing to his campaign. And the 1996 election comes maybe a year before California conservatives might have cut him some slack, crediting him with constancy on the Civil Rights Initiative and other matters near and dear. The second paragraph of such stories, when they appear, will wonder whether a race in 2000 to succeed Bill Clinton is therefore in Pete's future.

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Dan Walters argued in his *Sacramento Bee* column that Assembly Republicans folded up the tent in fighting the California Teachers Association this year, figuring they'd be risking too much enemy fire in the tenuous fall election by passing tough school reforms. Instead, Walters said, the GOP would concentrate on bedeviling the trial lawyers, who are sure to be Democrat fund-raisers in any case. Curt Pringle's office, asked to respond, didn't, by our deadline.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Sign of the times: on the day of William Bonin's execution, even the *San Francisco Chronicle* gave good play to the victims' side, despite the usual massing of anti-death penalty demonstrators at nearby San Quentin. Those candle-toting, heart-bleeding vigil-goers captured the usual TV attention, but serious media no longer have much time for them.

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Admittedly, the photo won't have the same impact that the shots of all those marching Mexican flags had on the vote for Proposition 187. But the *LA Times'* shot of a Spanish-surnamed UCLA matriculant banging her hands on the corridor wall inside a campus building — in a child-like tantrum — while another protester's placard blamed the Regents' quota ban for wrecking the "univesities" summed up the affirmative action debate nicely.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Revisionists had to love the *Times'* "Life & Style" section feature on ambassador to Finland Derek Shearer, whom it said is "into selling America" by flacking for U.S. corporations in the post that pal Bill Clinton gave him. He looked downright Brooks Bros. in a photo with his wife Ruth Yanatta Goldway. The former Santa Monica socialists want to "spread the idea of enterprise around the world." Yikes! CPR

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PAT BUCHANAN

TWO CONSERVATIVES COMMENT

Beyond protectionism

by Bob Schuman

Conservatives who dislike Pat Buchanan's political positions usually point first to his protectionism or, more broadly, to his apparent willingness to embrace big government when it seems to benefit his constituency — as when, for instance, he criticizes Congressional Republican reforms of Medicare. George Melloan, for example, wrote recently in the *Wall Street Journal* that "Mr. Buchanan so badly misunderstands the interactions between the American and global economies that it is hard to know where to start." Undaunted, however, he gamely proceeded, explaining patiently that today "[t]here is no such thing as a purely 'national' economy ...." — and so on from there. All quite accurate as an analysis of Buchanan's errors to be sure. But a feeling grows with the reading that it is all somehow beside the point. Is it that Buchanan *misunderstands* economics, or more accurately that he finds it boring? And more than boring: stultifying to the human spirit, a collection of theories and formulas draining the life out of politics, diverting attention from real people living real lives in a real world.

Buchanan's attitude toward economics recalls Whittaker Chambers' reactions, in his formative years, to socialism, as described in his book *Witness:*

"[In 1923] I plunged into Fabian Socialism, studying as I seldom had before in my life. I abstracted and made mountainous notes on the dull dry works of the Webbs, R. H. Tawney, Hobhouse and the endless volumes in which G.D.H. Cole urged Guild Socialism. There was no life in those books. There were statistics and theories. The reek of life was missing ...." But then, "one day, by sheer chance, there came into my hands a little pamphlet of Lenin's. It was called *A Soviet At Work.* In a simple strong prose, it described a day in the life of a local soviet. The reek of life was on it. This was not theory or statistics. This was socialism in practice. This was the thing itself. This was how it worked."

This "reek of life" is the essence of what Buchanan calls "fighting faiths," which are the only kind that interest him. It is a metaphysical proposition, transcending economics and, probably, politics as well. St. Augustine, in a similar mood, wrote: "Give me a man in love; he knows what I mean. Give me one who yearns; give me one who is hungry; give me one far

(Please turn to next page)

Bob Schuman is a conservative Republican consultant working in California.

The man I know isn't a racist

by Bruce Herschensohn

It is not my habit to start articles by stating my religion or declaring a personal friendship, but under today's conditions, it is vital. I'm Jewish and Pat Buchanan is my friend.

Our friendship goes back 25 years. In the last few years, we have had a number of foreign policy differences. Last year, discussing those differences on radio, I called him an isolationist and he called me a one-worlder. And then we started laughing, a heartfelt expression that our differences were policy-driven alone.

I am convinced that he thinks that his positions on foreign policy are in the best interests of the United States. I disagree. We are, in fact, both arguing for our own definitions of conservatism in foreign affairs. I, therefore, have no problem with anyone being critical of him on those issues, but I am infuriated, enraged and incensed

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Bruce Herschensohn is a fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government Institute of Politics at Harvard.

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Schuman

(Continued from Page 9)

away in the desert, who is thirsty and sighs for the spring of the Eternal Country. Give me that sort of man; he knows what I mean. But if I speak to a cold man, he doesn't know what I am talking about ...."

There is nothing in such an attitude *per se* to which most conservatives would object. On the contrary, it is of the essence of conservatism to reject the sterile, left-materialist notion that "reason" dictates a cold-blooded "scientific" attitude toward every question, leaving no room for what Bill Buckley once described as "deep and abiding mysteries," mainly those of religion. And it is Mr. Buchanan's instinctive knowledge that the deepest, most moving truths transcend science to the level of virtue — courage, self-sacrifice, love — that makes his campaign so much more interesting in many ways than those of his competitors. It's what makes him the stylistic opposite of George Bush and Bob Dole, both of whom alternately blush and fume over "the vision thing."

There is a Limit

But there is a limit. It is exhilarating and liberating; it is honest and it is good to acknowledge that truth is not limited to the reach of our reason, that music, poetry, drama and myth often reveal the more profound truths, and that the greatest truths are appreciated through faith, hope, and love. There is a spiritual poverty, for instance, at the root of an Arthur Schlesinger Jr. saying, as he did last November, also in the *Wall Street Journal,* that he finds it "scary" that one-third of American adults say that God speaks to them directly. (And when it comes to being scary, what about the two-thirds, including Schlesinger, who evidently cannot hear God talking to them? But that is another matter.)

But although human reason cannot comprehend all truth, it does not follow that we may honestly defy truths it comprehends clearly, or that it is liberating or good (though it may be exhilarating) to do so. One of the California Legislature's most thoroughgoing liberals, John Vasconcellos, made himself briefly famous a few years ago by propounding a "self-esteem" movement, based on the sometimes valid notion that people, especially kids, are more likely to do their best when their faith in themselves is strong. What concerned a lot of people was that, being a liberal, Vasconcellos usually didn't bother to add that feeling good about oneself is no substitute for doing good, and that a self-deceiving "self-esteem" based on little or nothing to justify it is precisely what makes many people, especially kids, unteachable. Liberals achieve a pleasing symmetry in their ability to insist on reason in matters beyond its reach while dismissing "dull," "dry," "suffocating" rationality in matters the mind can grasp easily, neatly shutting out truth at both the natural and supernatural levels of human existence.

Mr. Buchanan does not suffer from Schlesinger's limited vision, but he routinely displays something closely akin to Mr. Vasconcellos's. His ecomomics and much of his current message about how government ought to behave ignores easily understood truths. Mr. Melloan is right to point that out, but mistaken if he thinks that is the real problem. Like John Vasconcellos, when Mr. Buchanan runs into a conflict between "the head" and "the heart," he finds it more noble to choose the heart. "Men of the right," he has been quoted as saying, "think first with their heart when forming their beliefs," and, on trade, "the arguments of the head will lose to the arguments of the heart ...." In his autobiography, Mr. Buchanan says "Economics is *not* the science that sends men to the barricades" and a little later mentions Vince Lombardi's comment that: "Football is not a contact sport, it is a collision sport; dancing is a contact sport."

"That," Buchanan adds, "is how I feel about politics."

False Conflict

This is as false a conflict as any haunting John Vasconcellos. Ronald Reagan's appeal was to the head *and* the heart: that there is one human interest — the achievement of freedom with law — and that the artificial divisions men erect to justify warfare and tyranny are not only destructive but can and must be overcome. He proceeded to lead the world in doing so with respect to communism.

In the film *Patton,* during the Battle of the Bulge when the general has just finished shouting to his staff "we will attack all night; we will attack tomorrow morning. If we are not victorious, let no one come back alive!" his chief aide whispers to him: "you know general, sometimes they don't know when you're acting." Patton answers: "It isn't important for them to know. It's only important for me to know." What bothers me about Pat Buchanan is that he seems to have allowed himself to forget when he is acting. This has led him into dishonesty and into misleading his supporters. It is less that Buchanan seems to misunderstand things than it is the growing evidence that he doesn't care whether his arguments and positions reflect the truth of things or not. That makes him a liar, not a conservative. CPR

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Herschensohn

(Continued from Page 9)

at the attacks that have labeled him an anti-Semite and a racist.

I remember when Pat passionately wanted to risk a super power confrontation to prevent the possible destruction of Israel as the Yom Kippur War started in 1973. He condemned the ACLU for its 1978 support of Nazis marching in Skokie, Ill. Although there were "inside" political risks, he opposed the Reagan Administration's condemnation of Israel in 1981 when Israel bombed Iraq's nuclear reactor. I can say without hesitancy that from what I know about Pat, which is a great deal, the charges I have heard against him have absolutely no credibility, but they are very dangerous.

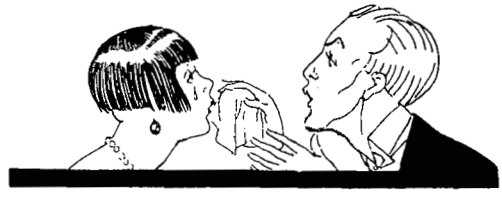
In the attempt to destroy his candidacy, such slander not only puts Pat Buchanan on the defensive (which is the objective); it also puts millions of his supporters on the defensive, and in their passion for him, some of them may transfer their anger against his critics to anger against the groups that Pat is accused of hating.

Moreover, these charges are putting the United States, as a nation, on the defensive. Last week, after the New Hampshire primary, a foreign correspondent asked me, "How can an anti-Semite and a racist get so far in presidential politics in these times?" I answered that someone so described cannot get very far in U.S. presidential politics. Immediately he told me that he was talking about Pat Buchanan. Immediately I told him he was severely misinformed. But foreign correspondents can send untruths just as easily as facts beyond our water's edge. Israel's biggest newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot,* editorialized, "Will a man who hates Jews and blacks represent the Republican Party in the race for the White House?"

Some say that Pat brings the charges on himself by "shooting from the hip" (just as was said about Barry Goldwater in 1964). But Pat tends to talk rather than read from text that has been inspected by 15 consultants to ensure that it cannot be misinterpreted. Pat fights close to the edge. It's his style and I like it. At the same time, there have been those occasions when I have thought, "Whoa, don't say that! Do you know what they'll say you meant by that one?" Too late.

His penchant, his talent, his ability for plain talk and catchy phrases is a virtue that can be perceived as a vice in a political campaign where microscopes are used to examine words that were meant for a wider context. I wish that people who are otherwise responsible would make certain they know what they're talking about before making serious personal charges against those who seek public office. CPR

Self-Esteem



and Self-Hypnosis

William R. Allen

The young scholar approached with exam paper in hand and fire in the eye. Flashing her grade of D, she informed me, with feeling: "I am a graduate of Beverly Hills High, and never before have I received a grade of less than B+."

It is doubtful that her bad grade wounded her self-esteem. After all, at fault was surely the teacher, not the student. But many — politicians, psychologists, and pedagogues, in particular — worry much about self-esteem and how to protect and nurture it. A while back, a large California Task Force to Promote Self-Esteem spent three years and more than $700,000 of state money in preparing a 140-page report on how to feel good about oneself and be nice to others. Feelings of self-worth were to metamorphose each of us into a confident, contented, and courageous force of purpose, propriety, and productivity.

Advocacy of such satisfied, self-congratulatory navel-contemplation was received with a tinge of wonderment and doubt in some circles. But from the outset, this seduction of happy-hour social therapy resonated here and there, early in various schools and county commissions and then in a smattering of corporations. There is even a National Association for

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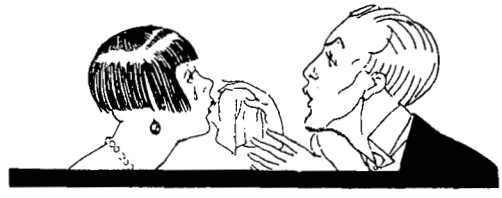

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Self-Esteem, and purportedly we are now blessed with a veritable ebullient bandwagon.

The essence of the human situation is resource scarcity; thus, the essence of our being is competition; and the essence of our salvation is coordination. If we are to survive well, we must evolve and adapt procedures and attitudes of resolving conflicts and combining productive efforts.

To prosper, we must pursue desires to do well, and enable people to perceive and exploit options and to anticipate reward from productivity. We have to produce what we consume. We produce by sweat of the brow and by planning and sacrificing and organizing.

Production is not generated by convincing ourselves that we "deserve" much because we all are perfectly splendid fellows and that we surely will receive all we deserve. Both incentive and guidance in productive activity are to be found in a society and its economy which rewards most those who are most useful to the community.

Scarcity does, indeed, give rise to competition in any social order, for we cannot fully satisfy all wants of all people all the time. But an open-market arrangement, based on private rights to use of property, gives rise also to efficient coordination. When people perform well in such price-driven activity, when they provide valuable things to others, doubtless the resulting rewards of wealth and applause will be accompanied by a sense of self-esteem. But the esteem is a by-product of valuable performance. With lousy performance, there is no warranted esteem.

The sweet smell of success and the fear of failure are powerful fuel for the engine of endeavor. But self-esteem by simple-minded self-seduction conduces contentment, not commitment. There must be sufficient confidence to try, of course, but self-sustaining, growing confidence had better reflect experience — experience of effective effort resulting in acknowledged accomplishment.

Do not bother to tell the community of the esteem you deserve or the pride you feel or how singularly precious you are. And do not tell me you deserve an A in my course because you went to Beverly Hills High. The rest of us are looking at your performance and achievement. And then *we* will tell *you* your appropriate reward and the esteem you warrant in *our* eyes. CPR

IT'S BAAAACK!

REGULATORY THEFT FROM THE INSURANCE SECTOR

Politicians who see insurers only as big pots of money ignore the crucial economic function they serve in efficient allocation of risk.

Benjamin Zycher

Revolutions come and go, but some things in politics truly are eternal. Rubber chicken. Endless paeans to motherhood and apple pie. Wet kisses lingering on the faces of helpless infants. Regulation used to transfer wealth from unpopular to favored interest groups.

For instance, last July two Democrat state senators, Herschel Rosenthal and Richard G. Polanco, circulated a "Dear Colleague" letter along with a report from the Senate Office of Research which supposedly proved, first, that federal banking regulation (under the 1977 Community Reinvestment Act) has succeeded in inducing banks to become "major institutional investors in inner-city neighborhoods severely lacking in capital," and, second, that similar state regulation applied to insurance companies would be wise because "insurers have not invested in these [inner-city] venues at nearly the level that banks have, although respected studies show such investments can be quite profitable."

The truth is, not only has CRA failed as a prod toward increased inner-city investment by banks, it has created perverse incentives for banks *against* such investment. CRA requires federal regulatory agencies to "encourage" lending institutions "to meet the credit needs of the local communities" in which they are located "consistent with safe and sound operation of the

Benjamin Zycher is vice president for research at the Milken Institute for Job and Capital Formation in Santa Monica.

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institution." Regulators thus are required to take such criteria into account when evaluating applications for new branches, branch relocations, mergers, and the like.

But a General Accounting Office analysis noted the great difficulty in establishing any changes in lending patterns *as a result* of CRA. In particular, the common claim that CRA has engendered billions of dollars of loans for low-income housing and "community economic development" is a myth; a study reveals that most of those loans actually are "commitments" made by lenders between 1978 and 1993. Many or most would have been made without CRA, and some are for the future — they have not yet been made and may never be made. Under CRA, banks have net incentives to avoid branching into low- and moderate-income areas that are likely to exhibit higher loan non-performance than average, thus harming low-income access to banking services.

Launched from this rickety platform, Rosenthal's and Polanco's call for CRA-type regulation of insurers proceeds relying upon further false premises. For instance, purported "redlining" by insurance companies is a charge as ubiquitous as supporting evidence is lacking. Supporters of insurance company regulation have been reduced to arguing that "studies have indicated" redlining by some insurers; but it has never been quite clear whether by "indicated" they mean "demonstrated" or merely "asserted." In a market for insurance services — for the protection of personal or business assets — the geographic distribution of such services as well as such ancillary activities as advertising inevitably will be uneven. Lower-income communities consume fewer of these services, as is the case for most goods and services, merely as a result of lower wealth. This effect is likely to be particularly pronounced for insurance services because the demand for protection of assets must be less in areas where the value of such assets is relatively small. Also, the cost of providing many insurance services is higher in low-income communities, due to higher crime, higher traffic densities, demographic characteristics, and the like. This higher cost, again, means a smaller amount of such services purchased and sold.

So what would be the *actual* effect of imposing the CRA-type regulation of insurers envisioned by Rosenthal and Polanco? To provide an amount of insurance services in low-income areas greater than that yielded by market forces, insurance rates must be subsidized either implicitly or explicitly. Essentially, this can be done in only two ways. The Legislature can appropriate dollars, either by reducing spending on other budget line items, or by raising taxes, thus reducing spending by individuals on private goods and services. Or, regulators can attempt to engender cross-subsidies among insurance *consumers* by raising rates for some to subsidize rates for others.

It is unlikely that other interest groups will be willing to see their programs cut so as to finance subsidized insurance services for low-income people. And a tax increase, happily, stands little chance of passing either the Curt Pringle Assembly or Bill Lockyer's Senate (Lockyer will have enough trouble getting his majority re-elected as it is), or be signed by Governor Wilson. That leaves regulation, which must attempt to generate above-normal returns for insurers from *some* customers in order to finance below-cost insurance for *others.*

California's insurance market includes more than three thousand insurers and many additional potential entrants. Such overwhelming competitiveness makes it impossible for regulators to enforce rates for some customers above competitive levels unless a massive cartel scheme for allocating customers among insurers is developed and enforced. Don't bet on that anytime soon. But, while Rosenthal's and Polanco's stated goal is beyond their reach, the program they envision would not do nothing. Subsidizing politically-favored consumers would politicize the insurance market because their goal is political: engineering wealth transfers from insurance companies. That insurers sit on big pots of money obviously is tempting for politicians with short-term horizons. They ignore the crucial economic function insurance companies serve in the efficient allocation of risk. They seem to see only a pot of gold to be looted and so, arguing from false premises, they yield perverse effects for the economy as a whole. CPR

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A Preference for Equality

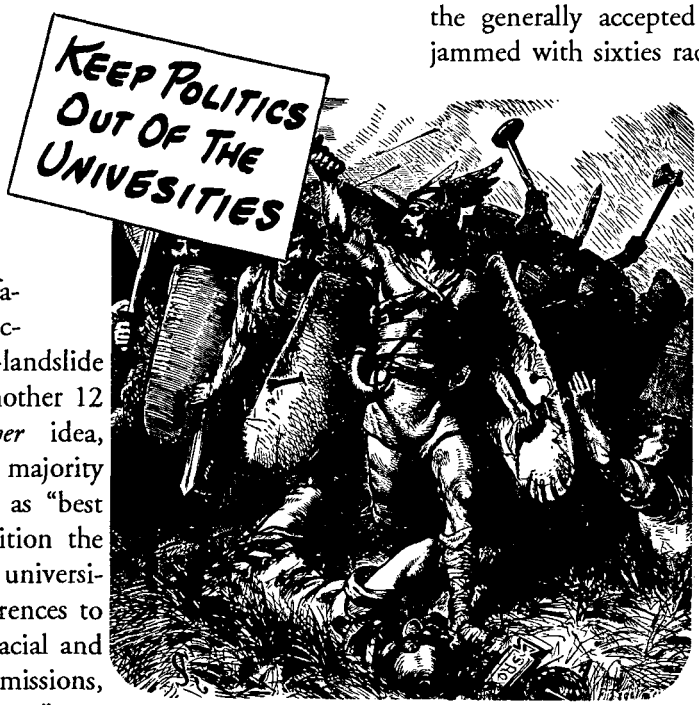
by John Kurzweil

News Flash: Roper survey finds U.C. faculty agrees with Regents; opposes race, gender, and ethnic preferences, 48-to-31 percent.

LAST DECEMBER, supporters of abolishing race and gender preferences in California sponsored a survey of the University of California faculty. Conducted by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research (University of Connecticut), the survey asked UC faculty which of two alternatives "best describes" the policy they thought the University of California should pursue:

> First, the university should grant preferences to women and certain racial and ethnic groups in admissions, hiring, and promotions [or] Second, the university should promote equal opportunities in these areas without regard to an individual's race, sex, or ethnicity.

The answer: UC faculty favored the second course, by a near-landslide 48 to 31 percent. Another 12 percent liked *neither* idea, making a 60 percent majority unwilling to endorse as "best describing" their position the proposition that "the university should grant preferences to women and certain racial and ethnic groups in admissions, hiring, and promotions" — which is, of course, exactly what the university has been doing for decades. These results hardly comport with the generally accepted image of the UC faculty as jammed with sixties radicals. On the nub issue in the affirmative action debate, the Roper findings represent a drubbing for the pro-race- and gender-based preferences position commensurate with a 50-state annihilation in a presidential election *among those whom most of us thought were its primary constituency.*



Students protested at UCLA's Bunche Hall in February

Nothing daunted, of course, the University establishment fired back. Michael Hout, director of the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley, issued a rejoinder January 26 summarizing the situation blandly: "Faculty support for affirma-

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

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tive action has been called into question by the results of a poll sponsored by the California Association of Scholars [CAS]." Hout should have been Jimmy Carter's P.R. man: "Voter support for the president's administration has been called into question by the results of a November 1980 poll sponsored by the U.S. Constitution."

Hout, who, surprisingly, turns out to be a professor of sociology, explained why he found the Roper survey untroubling: "The poll deviates from scientific practice in vital ways that make it inaccurate. Most importantly, the questions express the issues in a one-sided way favorable to affirmative action opponents (who prefer the word 'preferences'). CAS compounds the scientific problems of their poll by focussing on the one question that favors their point of view." Hout's "one-sidedness" charge rests mainly on the Roper survey's use of the word "preferences" in "the response alternative that is favorable to affirmative action." This word, "commonly used by the *opponents* of affirmative action ... does not give affirmative action advocates a chance to express their views clearly in their own words." Hout then delivers a pedantic discourse on "advocacy polls" that "frequently 'slant' questions by raising questions in a way that are *[sic]* favorable to one point of view in a debate — and unfavorable to another ...." This "makes is difficult for persons from one persuasion to answer the questions as stated" because "they cannot fully agree with any of the statements offered them, or they cannot choose between two alternatives that are posed because they agree with both or disagree with both." That this is what happened in the Roper poll is proved, Hout concludes, because "a significant fraction of faculty refused to register an opinion on all four of the questions." Straw Man thus decapitated, Hout pronounces the poll dead: "Given the opportunity to measure opinion, it failed."

It may have failed to measure opinion regarding questions Hout finds interesting, but no part of the sociology professor's argument supports the conclusion that it failed as a measure of opinion on the question of *race and gender preferences at UC.* What seems most upsetting to Hout is that *that* was the question these pollsters wanted answered. "In particular," he sums up, "the characterization of affirmative action as granting 'preferences' is an issue that is part of the dispute. Using that term in a key question leaves affirmative action proponents without a response that reflects their views." But this was not a survey of views on "affirmative action." It surveyed opinion on "preferences." Nowhere does the "key question" characterize affirmative action as Hout says it does or in any other way; the phrase does not appear in the question for the simple reason that it was not the point at issue. The only coherent conclusion Hout's argument allows is that we are not permitted to conduct polls on the question of "preferences," because "that is part of the dispute." Odd, I thought polling was all about measuring opinion on matters in dispute. Cal's Survey Research Center must conduct fascinating surveys. "Madam, does the sun rise in the east? Is the grass green? Should the University of California pursue a policy of niceness and inclusion?"

But let us not be flippant. Perhaps alongside a poll on "preferences" we should also do one on "affirmative action." As a matter of fact, although Professor Hout never quite gets around to crediting the Roper survey for such thoroughness, that is just what this poll did. After the "preferences" versus "equal opportunities" question, faculty were asked to respond to the following:

> The term "affirmative action" has different meanings to different people. I'm going to read two definitions of the term "affirmative action." Please tell me which one best describes what you mean by the term.
>
> First, affirmative action means granting preferences to women and certain racial and ethnic groups. Second, affirmative action means promoting equal op-

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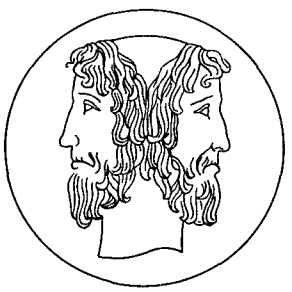
portunities for all individuals without regard to their race, sex, or ethnicity.

Which statement, the first or the second, comes closest to your own definition of affirmative action?

First: 37 percent; second: 43 percent; neither: 14 percent; "both" (!!): 2 percent. I want to party with that last group.

No wonder, as Hout noted, that using the term "preferences" leaves "affirmative action proponents without a response that reflects their views." *No* coherent response logically could. The 80 percent of responding UC faculty that chose one or the other definition are evidently split almost right down the middle on what the phrase means, the two sides picking diametrically opposed definitions. And, once more, the key point, the "issue" in "dispute," turns out to be the devil-word: preferences.



It is also no wonder, considering the responses to this question, that proponents of race- and gender-based preferences like Michael Hout prefer surveys measuring opinion of "affirmative action." They know that, in practice, the policy that usually goes under that name is substantially one of invoking such preferences. The California Association of Scholars' release on the Roper survey reports, for instance, that "individuals of one particular ethnicity were admitted at one of UC's medical schools at 19 times the rate of applicants of another ethnicity, even though the former were significantly less qualified on the basis of academic criteria. (*Investor's Business Daily,* March 21, 1995, 'Making California color-blind.')" Even so, preferences supporters also know they can go ahead and ask people what they think of "affirmative action," without specifying what the phrase means, and corral proponents of *both* "preferences" *and* "equal opportunity" under their banner.

That there exists mass confusion about the phrase "affirmative action" was borne out in a national survey of 240,000 freshmen conducted by UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute. According to the CAS release, this "study, which was released January 8, 1996, found that, although 70 percent of students surveyed support giving 'special consideration' to race in college admissions, 50 percent said that they believe affirmative action should be abolished. And although 70.6 percent of the students surveyed support special consideration for blacks, only slightly fewer — 69.3 percent — said whites deserve the same break." One idly wonders how Professor Hout will explain such phrases as "deviation from scientific practice" to this group.

CAS's Roper survey found a less marked, but still remarkable, apparent desire to have it both ways among the UC faculty. Substantially the same respondents who, by 48 to 31 percent, said "the University should promote equal opportunities" in admissions, hiring, and promotions "without regard to an individual's race, sex, or ethnicity," *also* answered another survey question saying flatly that they favor (52 to 34 percent) "using race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as a criterion for admission to the University of California." And by 47 to 39 percent, they said they favored using such criteria in its employment and contracting practices. The word missing in these latter, majority- and plurality-supported questions is, yes, preferences. Apparently as intellectually lazy as many of their incoming students, a large block of the UC faculty seems yet to have made the quantum leap in understanding required to see that the university *cannot* use race, sex, or ethnicity as "criteria" *without* granting "preferences" to some applicants over others on the basis of race, sex, or ethnicity. Perhaps the wisest policy is just to close down the university altogether, sending both faculty and students back to high school. Well, no, I suppose there's no chance of that.

Amy Wallace, the *Los Angeles Times'* Higher Education correspondent, told me that her articles have so far ignored CAS's Roper survey (as, from what I can tell, have the articles of pretty much every other major media UC reporter in the state) because "serious questions" have been raised about its trustworthiness by, for instance, "Michael Hout." Could be, but I suspect the real reason for this lamentable media spiking of the story is a civic-minded fear among journalists that revealing the truth about the reasoning skills of either our up-and-coming young or our mature, crammed-to-the-gills with knowledge, poised to enlighten the world professoriate would unleash an epidemic of mass, statewide depression that could endanger our future. Good thinking. Forget everything you've just read. CPR

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THE LICENTIOUS GOSPEL OF TV ADVERTISING

By William Bennett

In the absence of strong families and good schools and faithful churches and by the power of its own appeal, television has become an increasingly dominant force in our social landscape. Let me say at the outset, that I am not arguing that television has done no good. It has. Nor will I argue that there are no quality shows on the air. There are, and there are more than a few. Nor will I argue that television is responsible for most of our social ills. It is not. Nor do I pretend that I do not watch it or don't enjoy most of what I do watch. I do. And indeed am even guilty of being associated with a TV series: it will air this fall and is based on *The Book of Virtues.*

What I *have* said is that taken in its totality both in terms of its content as well as things endemic to the medium itself, television is doing a lot of damage. I do not intend this to be a broadside leveled against Hollywood, nor is this speech particularly political. I do not want government to try to solve this problem; I think government is likely to make things worse rather than better. I am not part of the V-chip express. I do not favor censorship, and I remain a virtual absolutist on the First Amendment. My purpose here is to put some important issues on the table and engage — I hope to advance — the debate about our contemporary popular culture.

Television is now the dominant activity with which Americans fill their leisure time. The average American watches at least four hours of television a day, and television absorbs (a *conservative* estimate) 40 percent of the average American's free time. I have just learned that the act of watching television is the single greatest consumer of leisure time the human race has ever known. Those of you familiar with Harvard Professor Robert Putnam's work know his argument: that television is late twentieth century America's great atomizer. He believes and makes a persuasive case that TV has profoundly undermined the nation's civic culture, social trust, and group participation. It has also, I believe, contributed to passivity among the polity, has contributed to dumbing-down and to pessimism among the voters, a pessimism which is now a ripe field for political demagoguery, a field which is being filled, not surprisingly, by some television-created personalities themselves. The real, large, and most important power in television has to do with its capacity to alter moral sensibilities, mold dispositions, outlooks, and habits of mind and

Empower America Director Dr. William Bennett delivered a slightly longer version of this address at "Images of Ourselves: Washington and Hollywood," a conference sponsored by The Center for the Study of Popular Culture and National Review Institute.

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heart. We should not miss this larger point by obsessing on spurious claims about one-to-one correlations. Of course, the violence-filled movie doesn't by itself cause a viewer to arm up and kill someone. Life and causation are not so simple. But lots of time spent before the television set must — and it is clear that it does — affect dispositions, sensibilities, outlook, and predispositions.

In education we know that *time on task* is a great predictor of what children learn. For most of us, if we spend time reading it makes a difference in what we know. So it is with TV: if you spend four hours a day, 28 hours a week watching TV, it too begins to make a big difference. It does this in part through sheer saturation, a constant panoply of vivid images. Constant exposure naturally shapes, alters, and colors sensibility. How could it be otherwise? Television has become a kind of a modern template.

Those who still doubt the power of the medium should ask themselves: would advertisers pay top dollar to advertise on TV for 30 seconds or 60 seconds if they had no effect — if it did not work its way into the brain and affect decisions, perceptions, and wants?

One example of what I am talking about is television advertising, or at least some of it. As many of you know, I have recently spoken out against gangster rap music and some trash daytime talk shows. Here I will focus on a different aspect of television. In this discussion, I must acknowledge my debt to John Leo of *U. S. News and World Report* and to Bob Garfield of *Advertising Age* whose writings have provided me with an excellent accounting of and insightful commentary on timely messages that have filled our airwaves over the last few years. These messages are as much the product of New York and Chicago, of course, as they are of Los Angeles.

Remember those well-publicized, now-defunct Calvin Klein TV ads? A company spokesman said that those ads, the ads that sold blue jeans to the young by evoking dark images of children, were targeted at "people who do only what they want to do." But Calvin Klein is only part of the story about people who do only what they want to do. There are other parts of the story as well.

Have we ever in history worked so hard to bring off such a message using everything — materially, financially, psychologically — to make it work? So, no modesty, please.

Consider these ads — and consider what they are telling us:

- Burger King tells us: "Sometimes you gotta break the rules."
- Saab tells us to "Peel off your inhibitions. Find your own road."
- Nintendo tells children to "Be heard. Play it loud." And as a boy spits at the camera, they are instructed to "Hock a loogie at life."
- Canon Camera has brought us tennis star Andre Agassi throwing paint mindlessly, with the message: "Express yourself."
- Healthy Choice Cereal asks "You wanna be happy?" If so, "you gotta make your own rules."
- Chevrolet's ad shows a woman passing a truck driven by a cigar-chomping, male chauvinist truck driver. She is thrusting her arm in the air, and though we don't see her hand with finger extended, the message is clear. She is about to send an unambiguous message to the truck driver. (*This* is the "Heartbeat of America.")

This by no means is a complete list. There are others, and I am told there are more of these kinds of ads on the way. The ads I just read to you are, I think you will agree, an interesting litany. When you examine them all together, they paint a picture. They tell a tale. They teach.

After hearing this litany, one can already anticipate the response by ad agencies and public relations firms and some of the corporations who put this stuff on. They will admit that yes, these ads were developed by psychologists, by focus groups, and by very gifted writers in order to have maximum impact and effect. But, they will say, at the same time, that they are not harmful. They will argue that these things are playful, are innocent, and they shouldn't really be taken seriously. To which I would respond: don't be so modest, don't underestimate your own influence or the power of your very-well-crafted, market-tested message. *Do* take yourself seriously. Why shouldn't people, especially young people, take these messages to heart? These are powerful and penetrating messages which are produced almost perfectly, as perfectly as precision, technology, and money can afford. They are produced with color, with beauty, with music, and with movement. They work. Have we ever in human history worked so hard to bring off such a message using everything — materially, financially, psychologically — to make it work? So, no modesty, please.

Now, I don't assume that the people who watch these advertisements take them literally, of course not. But I do believe these ads begin to incline and condition their viewers toward a particular

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world view. Saturation and immersion in these messages makes people more receptive to them. Can there be any reasonable doubt about this? I don't think so.

What, then, are we to make of these ads and others like them? The first thing to do is recognize that what these television ads present are not mere cereal claims or car credits. They are philosophical claims. These ads are about life. These advertisers may be practicing philosophy without a license which is fine, I suppose. It's America, where virtually anyone can be a philosopher. But perhaps what is more important is that people are practicing philosophy on a large scale without reflection, and when it is done on such a mass scale and when it is done with such effectiveness, it can be quite damaging.

The philosophy being so powerfully promulgated, is this: the *summum bonum* of life is self-indulgence, self-aggrandizement, instant gratification; the good life is synonymous with license and freedom from inhibitions; rules are undesirable and made to be broken; and self-fulfillment is achieved by breaking them.

Now, the Leo Burnett ad agency, which has produced a number of these advertisements, doesn't own a copyright to this philosophy. This is not new. The notion that the obsessive, single-minded pursuit of pleasure ought to be the object of life is of course very old. In Plato's *Dialogue,* the *Gorgias,* Socrates tells Callicles the following: "I was saying, as you remember, there are some practices that concern themselves with nothing more than pleasure and procure only pleasure, practices that are ignorant about what is better and what is worse. While there are other practices that do know what is good and what is bad."

Again, the idea that life is simply the pursuit of pleasure, breaking rules and grabbing for whatever you can is a very old as well as a very new idea. But the fact that an idea is old doesn't make it any truer. With a bow to Socrates, let's do a little bit more philosophy for just a moment.

Ultimately, these ads, of course, are self-refuting: they are propagating lies. For one, it is clear enough that these advertisers do not believe their own rhetoric. They realize that urging people to break the rules sounds liberating, fashionable, post-modern, mildly subversive. It is defended on grounds that this is a familiar rite of passage: this is what we are always saying to children, this is what children are always saying to us, that kids always do this sort of thing, and so on. But we need to ask another question: do these advertisers really want people to live without barriers, break the rules, and not conform to standards or codes of conduct? If they do, then one can only assume that the creators of these ads would celebrate things like, for example, Richard Nixon's attempt to obstruct justice. He broke the rules. Or Joe McCarthy's smear campaign. He broke a lot of rules. Or David Duke's treatment toward African Americans. He breaks rules. Or Bob Packwood's sexual harassment. Or the bombing of abortion clinics. What do we say, on reflection, to the claim: "you gotta make your own rules"? On reflection, we say: no one wants to live in such a nightmare world.

Now, I don't for a minute think the creative geniuses who produced these ads would condone these actions. *But that is precisely my point.* These ads don't come with warning labels, and in the absence of, or in the weakness of, other points of view, they will indeed make their impression. If you take seriously the ideas that we should "break the rules" — that you "gotta make your own rules" — then there are no objective standards that people ought to be held to. When you hold that, you commit an act of unilateral, moral, intellectual disarmament. You are left with nothing to say, no solid ground on which to stand. That is not a good place to be.

Now, I realize I may be beating these poor ads into the ground, but these ads have been beating their way across television screens for some time. My defense is that turn about is fair play. As Flannery O'Connor once said in one of her diaries, "you have to push as hard as the age that pushes against you." And this age is pushing very hard against our children. My point is this: corporate and advertising executives themselves don't believe their own message. Nobody would want to live in a society that took these messages seriously. After all, these ads urge individuals to be precisely the kind of people that nobody would want as an employee, boss, colleague, friend, brother, or spouse.

Keep in mind that these messages carry the most strength with the people who are most vulnerable, children who live in chaos, who often have no parent or responsible adult in their lives who is able to filter,

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cushion, or correct the messages being sent over the airwaves. But keep in mind that when the cultural realm is poisoned, everyone is poisoned. For the weak, it's just that the poison works faster and longer. So the question these advertisers should be made to answer is: why do you try to impress upon the young views which you know to be so harmful to them? Can you be proud of this?

During the last thirty years we have witnessed extraordinary social regression. We have seen an explosion in moral pathologies: abused, neglected, and abandoned children, out-of-wedlock births, drive-by shootings, abortion on demand, no-fault divorce, drug abuse, violent crime, and just a whole lot more of plain trashy behavior. What has also largely vanished from the scene — what seems to be gone with the wind — are unwritten rules of decency and civility, social strictures, and basic good manners. Part of the explanation is that many people ignored or forgot what almost everybody once knew: mainly, that the good requires constant reinforcement, that the bad needs only permission. We live in a time in which the forces of decomposition are threatening to overwhelm the forces of composition. A lot of advertising is now on the side of the forces of decomposition. TV advertising has power precisely because it addresses and taps into real human appetites, human passions, human temptations. It succeeds because of the tropism of the human heart toward self-indulgence, toward our natural downward gravity, our gravity as sentient creatures. And who is more sentient than teenagers? Do we really need to encourage more sentience on their part?

Bob Garfield makes an excellent point this way: "Pour gasoline on the fire of teen-age anger, encourage kids to be rude, ridicule authority figures, parental and otherwise, as out-of-it, decorum-obsessed dweebs. Assist young people in their often perilous search for identity by suggesting that they embrace the most garish kind of self-centered nihilism .... What greater service can an advertiser perform, against the background of teen suicide, for example, than to trumpet meaninglessness of human existence? Bravo."

Now, the disclaiming part. I would suggest (and I will just here summarize) that one needs to pay some time and attention listening to teenagers, not just to your own but to others, listening to them in malls or movie theaters or wherever they happen to gather.

In his extraordinary letter from Birmingham jail, Martin Luther King wrote that something that uplifts human personality is just and something that afflicts human personality is unjust. Ultimately it is for this reason that our society must reject the view of man that's promulgated by an awful lot of advertising. It is a diminished, unjust view, an unGodly view. Underlying it all is contempt for human beings as King describes them, for their nature, for their potential, for their dignity. The human soul is much richer and grander than the images being shown.

But how are young people to know that if we do not tell them? Let me therefore conclude with an appeal. Cultural anthropologist David Murray was wise to compare television, and television advertisements in particular, to the ancient cathedrals. It is the site in our culture where the most powerful forces of imagination are marshalled and harnessed to produce some of the most effective symbolic devices ever encountered. The power of the medium — both aesthetically and psychologically, in terms of its penetration — makes it a virtual palette of the personality, able to color and even form human experience.

I have spoken tonight briefly about only one aspect of the current electronic pageant, but for those of you who work in television or in the movies, it is true there every bit as much as in advertising. You have nothing less than a Promethean power; advertising is only one piece. There are many others who share with advertising the power to shape the sensibilities of an entire people. You hold the fire that ignites hearts and minds; please bear that in mind. Never suffer from modesty. You have power in the sense that Aristotle defined it: the ability to be and to make things be.

The question we face today is the same question we have faced since the beginning of society: in whose service will power be used? I believe the cultural dimensions of that question are every bit if not more important than its political dimensions in our time. There are *lots* of good ways to make a living, indeed lots of good ways even to make a very good living. There are also, as we know, lots of bad ways to make a very good living.

Let me end with this trenchant insight of a monumental Hollywood figure. Here is what he said about my topic: "What most people don't seem to realize is that there is just as much money to be made out of the wreckage of a civilization as from the upbuilding of one. I am making my fortune out of the wreckage."

It may be hard to make a better movie than the one in which Rhett Butler spoke those words; it shouldn't be hard to improve on his philosophy. We should not make our money from the wreckage. There are profits to be made elsewhere. And indeed there are matters other than profits to bear in mind as well. CPR

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IN HIS otherwise charming birthday tribute to Ronald Reagan February 5, Los Angeles Times columnist George Skelton evidently could not resist trivializing Reagan's leadership of the free world in defeating the Soviet Empire (in Skelton's words, Reagan was "somebody bent on beating the commies ...."). Somehow it's difficult to imagine Mr. Skelton summarizing the foreign policy of, say, Franklin Roosevelt as "bent on beating the Heineys." However, such provocations notwithstanding, California Political Review retains its good humor, refusing to be deterred from its belief that all men, even liberal journalists, might be teachable. And so: the second installment of Conservative Classics, dedicated to all liberal political writers of open mind, willing at least to try to learn what conservatives mean by the word: principle.

A Time for Choosing

by Ronald Reagan

Excerpted from Ronald Reagan's address on behalf of Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy, Republican National Convention, San Francisco, California, 1964.

I am going to talk of controversial things, I make no apology for this. I have been talking on this subject for 10 years, obviously under the administration of both parties. I mention this only because it seems impossible to legitimately debate the issues of the day without being subjected to name-calling and application of labels. Those who deplore use of the terms "pink" and "leftist" are themselves guilty of branding all who oppose their liberalism as right wing extremists.

It's time we asked ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers. James Madison said, "We base all our experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government." This idea that government was beholden to the people, that it had no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest, most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man. For almost two centuries we have proved man's capacity for self-government, but today we are told we must choose between a left and right or, as others suggest, a third alternative, a kind of safe middle ground. I suggest to you there is no left or right, only an up or down. Up to the maximum of individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and regardless of their humanitarian purpose those who would sacrifice freedom for security have, whether they know it or not, chosen this downward path. Plutarch warned, "The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits." Today there is an increasing number who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without automatically coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they would seek the answer to all the problems of human need through government. Howard K. Smith of television fame has written, "The profit motive is outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state."

Another spokesman for the welfare state defines liberalism as meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government. I for one find it disturbing when a representative refers to the free men and women of this country as the masses, but beyond this the full power of centralized government was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew you don't control things, you can't control the economy without controlling *people.*

So we have come to a time for choosing. Either we accept the responsibility for our own destiny, or we abandon the American Revolution and confess that an intellectual belief in a far-distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

Already the hour is late. Government has laid its

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hand on health, housing, farming, industry, commerce, education, and to an ever increasing degree interferes with the people's right to know. Government tends to grow; government programs take on weight and momentum, as public servants say, always with the best of intentions, "What greater service we could render if only we had a little more money and a little more power." But the truth is that outside of its legitimate function, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy.

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny.

What better example do we have of this than government's involvement in the farm economy over the last thirty years? One-fourth of farming has seen a steady decline in the per capita consumption of everything it produces. That one-fourth is regulated and subsidized by government. In contrast, the three-fourths of farming unregulated and unsubsidized has seen a 21 percent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. Since 1955 the cost of the farm program has nearly doubled. Direct payment to farmers is eight times as great as it was nine years ago, but farm income remains unchanged while farm surplus is bigger. In that same period we have seen a decline of five million in the farm population, but an increase in the number of Department of Agriculture employees.

There is now one such employee for every thirty farms in the United States, and still they can't figure how sixty-six shiploads of grain headed for Austria could disappear without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore. Three years ago the government put into effect a program to curb the overproduction of feed grain. Now, two and a half billion dollars later, the corn crop is 100 million bushels bigger than before the program started. And the cost of the program prorates out to $43 for every dollar of the price we pay for government meddling.

Some government programs with the passage of time take on a sacrosanct quality. One such considered above criticism, sacred as motherhood, is TVA. This program started as a flood control project; the Tennessee Valley was periodically ravaged by destructive floods. The Army Engineers set out to solve this problem. They said that it was possible that once in 500 years there could be a total capacity flood that would inundate some 600,000 acres. Well, the engineers fixed that. They made a permanent lake which inundated a million acres. This solved the problem of the floods, but the annual interest on the TVA debt is five times as great as the annual flood damage they sought to correct.

Of course, you will point out that TVA gets electric power from the impounded waters, and this is true, but today 85 percent of TVA's electricity is generated in coal-burning steam plants. Perhaps you'll charge that I'm overlooking the navigable waterway that was created, providing cheap barge traffic, but the bulk of the freight barged on that waterway is coal being shipped to the TVA steam plants, and the cost of maintaining that channel each year would pay for shipping all of the coal by rail, and there would be money left over. One last argument remains: The prosperity produced by such large programs of government spending. Certainly there are few areas where more spending has taken place. The Department lists 50 percent of the 100 counties in the Tennessee Valley as permanent areas of poverty, distress, and unemployment.

Federal welfare spending is today ten times greater than it was in the dark depths of the Depression. Federal, state, and local welfare combined spend $45 billion a year. Now the government has announced that 20 percent, some 9.3 million families, are poverty stricken on the basis that they have less than a $3,000 a year income. If this present welfare spending was prorated equally among these poverty stricken families, we could give each family more than $4,500 a year. Actually, direct aid to the poor averages less than $600 per family. There must be some administrative overhead somewhere. But beyond the great bureaucratic waste, what are we doing to the people we seek to help?

Recently a judge told me of an incident in his court. A fairly young woman with six children, pregnant with her seventh, came to him for a divorce. Under his questioning it became apparent her husband was a laborer earning $250 a month. By divorcing him she could get an $80 raise. She was eligible for $330 a month from the Aid to Dependent Children Program. She had been talked into divorce by two friends who had already done this very thing.

But any time we question the schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being opposed to their humanitarian goal. It seems impossible to legitimately debate their solutions with the assumption that all of us share the desire to help those less fortunate.

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A government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. The United States Manual takes twenty-five pages to list by name every congressman and senator, and all the agencies controlled by Congress. It then lists the agencies coming under the executive branch: 520 pages.

Since the beginning of the century our gross national product has increased 33 times. In the same period the cost of federal government has increased 234 times, and while the work force is only 1 1/2 times greater, federal employees number nine times as many. There are now 2 1/2 million federal employees. No one knows what they all do. One Congressman found out what one of them does. This man sits at a desk in Washington. Documents come to him each morning. He reads them, initials them, and passes them on to the proper agency. One day a document arrived he wasn't supposed to read, but he read it, initialed it, and passed it on. Twenty-four hours later it arrived back at his desk with a memo attached that said, "You weren't supposed to read this. Erase your initials, and initial the erasure."

While the federal government is the great offender, the idea filters down. During a period in California when our population has increased 90 percent, the cost of state government has gone up 862 percent and the number of employees 500 percent. Governments, state and local, now employ one out of six of the nation's work force.

It is time we realized that socialism can come without overt seizure of property or nationalization of private business. It matters little that you hold the title to your property or business if government can dictate policy and procedure and holds life and death power over your business. The machinery of this power already exists. Lowell Mason, former antitrust law enforcer for the Federal Trade Commission, has written, "American business is being harassed, bled and even black-jacked under a preposterous crazy quilt system of laws." There are so many that the government literally can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute.

Are we safe in our books and records? The natural gas producers have just been handed a 428-page questionnaire by the Federal Power Commission. It weighs ten pounds. One firm has estimated it will take 70,000 accountant man hours to fill out this questionnaire, and it must be done in quadruplicate. The Power Commission says it must have it to determine whether a proper price is being charged for gas. The National Labor Relations Board ruled that a business firm could not discontinue its shipping department even though it was more efficient and economical to subcontract this work out. The Supreme Court has ruled the government has the right to tell a citizen what he can grow on his own land for his own use. The Secretary of Agriculture has asked for the right to imprison farmers who violate their planning quotas. One business firm has been informed by the Internal Revenue Service that it cannot take a tax deduction for its institutional advertising because this advertising espoused views not in the public interest.

A child's prayer in a school cafeteria endangers religious freedom, but the people of the Amish religion in the State of Ohio, who cannot participate in Social Security because of their religious beliefs, have had their livestock seized and sold at auction to enforce payment of Social Security dues.

We approach a point of no return when government becomes so huge and entrenched that we fear the consequences of upheaval and just go along with it. The federal government accounts for one-fifth of the industrial capacity of the nation, one-fourth of all construction, holds or guarantees one-third of all mortgages, owns one-third of the land, and engages in some nineteen thousand businesses covering half a hundred different lines. The Defense Department runs 269 supermarkets. They do a gross business of $730 million a year, and lose $150 million.

The government spends $11 million an hour every hour of the 24 and pretends we had a tax cut while it pursues a policy of planned inflation that will more than wipe out any benefit with depreciation of our purchasing power. We need true tax reform that will make a start toward restoring for our children the American dream that wealth is denied to no one, that each individual has the right to fly as high as his strength and ability will take him. Economist Sumner Schlicter has said, "If a visitor from Mars looked at our tax policy, he would conclude it had been designed by a Communist spy to make free enterprise unworkable."

But we cannot have such reform while our tax policy is engineered by people who view the tax as a means of achieving changes in our social structure. Senator Clark

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(D-Pa.) says the tax issue is a class issue, and the government must use the tax to redistribute the wealth and earnings downward. On January 15 in the White House, the president told a group of citizens they were going to take all the money they thought was being unnecessarily spent, "take it from the haves and give it to the have-nots who need it so much." When Karl Marx said this he put it: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Have we the courage and the will to face up to the immorality and discrimination of the progressive surtax, and demand a return to traditional proportionate taxation? Many decades ago the Scottish economist, John Ramsey McCulloch, said, "The moment you abandon the cardinal principle of exacting from all individuals the same proportion of their income or their property, you are at sea without a rudder or compass and there is no amount of injustice or folly you may not commit." No nation has survived the tax burden that reached one-third of its national income. Today in our country the tax collector's share is thirty-seven cents of every dollar earned. Freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp. I wish I could give some magic formula, but each of us must find his own role. One man in Virginia found what he could do, and dozens of business firms have followed his lead. Concerned because his 200 employees seemed unworried about government extravagance he conceived the idea of taking all of their withholding out of only the fourth paycheck each month. For three paydays his employees received their full salary. On the fourth payday all withholding was taken. He has one employee who owes him $4.70 each fourth payday. It took only one month to produce 200 conservatives.

Are you willing to spend time studying the issues, making yourself aware, and then conveying that information to family and friends? Will you resist the temptation to get a government handout for your community? Realize that the doctor's fight against socialized medicine is your fight? We can't socialize the doctors without socializing the patients. Recognize that government invasion of public power is eventually an assault upon your own business. If some among you fear taking a stand because you are afraid of reprisals from customers, clients, or even government, recognize that you are just feeding the crocodile hoping he'll eat you last. If all of this seems like a great deal of trouble, think what's at stake. We are faced with the most evil enemy mankind has known in his long climb from the swamp to the stars. There can be no security anywhere in the free world if there is not fiscal and economic stability within the United States.

Those who ask us to trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state are architects of a policy of accommodation. They tell us that by avoiding a direct confrontation with the enemy, he will learn to love us and give up his evil ways. All who oppose this idea are blanket indicted as war-mongers. Well, let us set one thing straight, there is no argument with regard to peace and war. It is cheap demagoguery to suggest that anyone would want to send other people's sons to war. The only argument is with regard to the best way to avoid war. There is only one sure way — surrender.

The specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face is that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and appeasement does not give you a choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. We are told that the problem is too complex for a simple answer. They are wrong. There is no easy answer, but there is a simple answer.

We must have the courage to do what we know is morally right, and this policy of accommodation asks us to accept the greatest possible immorality. We are being asked to buy safety from the threat of the Bomb by selling into permanent slavery our fellow human beings enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, to tell them to give up their hope of freedom because we are ready to make a deal with their slave masters.

Alexander Hamilton warned us that a nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master and deserves one. Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow. Choosing the high road cannot eliminate that risk. Already some of the architects of accommodation have hinted what their decision will be if their plan fails and we are faced with the final ultimatum. The English commentator Tynan has put it that he would rather live on his knees than die on his feet. Some of our own have said, "Better Red than dead." If we are to believe that nothing is worth the dying, when did this begin? Should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery rather than dare the wilderness? Should Christ have refused the Cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have refused to fire the shot heard round the world? Are we to believe that all the martyrs of history died in vain?

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We can preserve for our children this the last best hope of man on earth, or we can sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done. CPR

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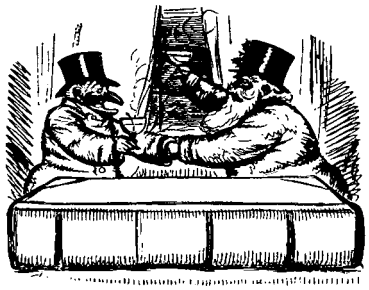

CRITICUS

Fifteen Seconds of Fame

BY G. B. TENNYSON

As every schoolboy knows, Andy Warhol opined some decades ago that in the future everyone will enjoy fifteen minutes of fame. Every schoolboy is in this, as in so much, in error, or at least misadvised. Warhol did indeed express the sentiment, but the idea was first bruited by the culture guru Marshall McLuhan. Warhol merely appropriated and popularized it, the intellectual equivalent of what he did artistically with the Campbell's soup can. Now comes Criticus to refine the McLuhanesque-Warholian apothegm. What it really comes to is that some of us will someday enjoy fifteen *seconds* of fame. Criticus recently enjoyed his.

It came about thusly. As Constant Readers will recall, Criticus has worked off and on over the past three years on a documentary video-film about his own culture guru, Owen Barfield. (Film completed; brilliant work; availability information forthcoming.) Filmmaking, Criticus learned, is very different from the solitary midnight-oil burning of scholarly and authorial life. Instead it involves huge numbers of people. The number required for a small video documentary is infinitesimal in comparison to that required in making a television show, and that number in turn is almost certainly dwarfed by the hordes it takes to turn out a full-length motion picture. Nevertheless, even in documentary-land many are called to labor in the video vineyards. And, quite comfortingly, there are some who do one favors, who give of their time and expertise out of sheer benevolence. They also serve who do not stand and wait.

One of my benefactors on the documentary was a notability — or at least a notability in waiting — working for a truly major Hollywood studio. We will call him Mark, leaving his real name to be known but to God, like those we honor on the feast of All Saints. This way we insure that he will store up treasure in Heaven for having acted selflessly. Mark had put me on to some useful Hollywood editing services that I, a novice, would probably never have found on my own, and he had been generally helpful in the late editing stages of the video. When, sometime later, Mark called to ask if I would be willing to appear in a brief segment in a television show being produced by a friend of his, I was more than happy to oblige.

To be sure, I had taken a private vow that, if I could manage it, I would never again appear in or on film, snapshot, video, or any other medium that repro-

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duces the human visage. But clearly I would have to break that vow in a good cause. The program in question, Mark explained, was something called the "All-Madden Team." At that moment Criticus was probably the only resident of the United States who could say that, although the name Madden rang a faint bell associated with television sports, a show called the "All-Madden Team" was wholly unknown to him. Mark treated this confession of ignorance, or even heresy, with consummate tact and explained it all to me. Thus I began my career on the small screen with fifteen seconds of shame.

The 'All-Madden Team' provides a sort of football methadone treatment for the addict who has seen the last of the playoffs and is filled with anticipation for America's greatest religious festival, our true Saturnalia, *i.e.* the Super Bowl.

If there be among my readers any who suffer equally from the un-American ignorance Criticus displayed, let me pass on a brief explanation, while the *cognoscenti* skip this paragraph and cut to the beginning of the chase. The "All-Madden Team" is an annual television show in which a burly but kindly sportscaster named John Madden, who drives about the country in the world's largest recreational vehicle because of a fear of flying, presents his picks for outstanding professional football players from the season that has just concluded except for the upcoming Super Bowl (I *had* heard of that). Indeed, it provides a sort of football methadone treatment for the addict who has seen the last of the playoffs and is filled with anticipation for America's greatest religious festival, our true Saturnalia, *i.e.* the Super Bowl, but who must wait yet another week for that momentous event. The lighthearted, semi-serious presentation that is the "All-Madden Team" features Madden in various places and settings commenting on and often chatting with his choices for player positions on his dream team.

What, then, you may well ask, could Criticus possibly contribute to these proceedings? Well, in keeping with his role as the upholder of culture in a world roiling in the morass of mass entertainment, Criticus was to supply some linguistic explication regarding the name of one of the players Madden had selected for his team, a player of course hitherto unheard of by Criticus. Madden had become intrigued by the given name of Tré borne by a player for the Washington Redskins. Tré Johnson. What, wondered Madden, did that accent mark mean? Madden had interviewed Tré on the question, though I did not see their exchange until the program aired when I and the world learned that Tré's mother alone had the full secret, for it was she who had created the name. He said it had something to do with his being the third-born child. Truth to tell, when I was first contacted on this matter by phone I naturally assumed that the spelling was Très. Later that same day when the director rang — we'll call him Michael — I learned that, no, the accent went the other way. I took this to mean that it was Trés. On the day of filming I learned it was in fact Tré. But you don't get anywhere in television if you can't step quickly, so I was able to accommodate these changes. Besides, it was all to be brief, brisk, and playful as well as informative. Mark never promised me even fifteen minutes of fame.

What he might have alerted me to, however, was the Hollywood telephone treatment. I was first contacted on a Tuesday and the taping of my bit was to occur the following Saturday, roughly a week before the showing on television. Fair enough and clear enough. Nevertheless, in the few days remaining there followed an endless series of telephone calls, messages left on machines, numbers to call back if calling before noon or after two or to the cellular phone or to the secretary, changes of time and venue. At last I learned what all those people are doing that I see talking on car phones or from restaurant tables or even on the exercise floor of fitness clubs: they are calling me, or doubtless someone more important, to make arrangements for something involving television. And I thought they were all drug dealers or callers-in to talk radio.

Still, the time moved forward and between calls I

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pondered my dialogue. After much back and forth about location — my study at home, my office, the library — it was finally agreed that we would film my moments at UCLA in my office with its bookshelves and scholarly artefacts, such as the brass plaque that I acquired from a redundant church in England that gives thanks to Almighty God for the adjacent window installed on Whitsunday 1898 but that in its transatlantic setting now looks out indecently onto a quad that I call the Genitalia Sculpture Garden. But that's another story.

Accordingly, we met outside my building at the appointed time on Saturday afternoon, the television vans having blithely occupied a nearby highly restricted parking area where they unloaded their equipment with impunity. From their success I learned another truth: if you want to park wherever you like without fear of being cited, simply drive a van with a television logo on it and some camera equipment; no one will bother you. Michael had a crew of perhaps a half-dozen, some being bearers of equipment, holders of lights, others cameramen, another seeming to be what they used to call in films a script girl, and another what they used to call best boy. Of course here they were simply referred to by their given names, none of them quite so exotic as Tré.

By this time, a day after my last conversation, they had changed their minds about location. They now wanted it all done in a classroom or something that looked like a classroom. So they appropriated the large auditorium of Rolfe Hall that had been used that morning for some event and was still unlocked. It has a raised stage and large blackboards (nowadays called chalkboards), and good acoustics. No one came to say us nay there either, leading to another lesson: if you want to film anywhere at all, just move in, set up your cameras and film away. This could even be a clever way of staging a bank robbery. Somebody must have thought of it by now.

So at last to my performance. I had devised a brilliantly clever sequence of words and explanations to lead to our goal of explaining the name Tré. I would discourse on the nature of diacritical marks, how they functioned in various languages, drawing examples on the chalkboard. I might even be able to clarify the difference between a diaeresis and an umlaut. One of the crew, the script girl, I think, had cleverly written "All-Madden Seminar — Topic: Accents" on the board. I had brought down some books, including one written by me, to distribute round the table on the platform, and I carried a couple of wands I use in class to beguile the dullards. The wands are filled with some viscous liquid in which is suspended hundreds of glittering, colored, sequin-like stars that move as one moves the wand. Scoff not. Of course it's vulgar showbiz, but it's kinder than a two-by-four for getting their attention.

Michael did a countdown from about 5, ending with "Action!" Just like the movies. Criticus launched into his discourse, the ultimate goal of which was to take the viewer through the three key words, Tres, Très, and Tré. The first is Spanish for "three," the second French for "very," and the third the name of our football hero. By writing the first on the board and explaining it, then by adding the *accent grave* (a *grave* accent, *i.e.* the backwards one) and explaining that, then by erasing the terminal "s" and marking in an *accent aigu* (an acute accent, *i.e.* the one slanting to the right) we reached the ingeniously contrived (by Criticus) statement that Tré was the name for a "very, very, very good" (note the *three* "very's"), "acutely good" (note the "acute" part) "Right Guard."

They loved it. So we did it again. And again. And again. I began to suspect that they didn't love it but

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hoped I might get it right eventually. Not so. They did like it. But they needed sufficient footage so that they could edit for all possible ways in which this piece might be accommodated to the overall show. This meant all possible angles. They photographed Criticus doing his bit from front and side, from near and far, taking care not to let the camera show that Criticus was in fact speaking to an empty auditorium. At one point they came at the hapless wretch of a Criticus with a tape measure in order to determine where to position the camera for a close-up. In vain did Criticus cry out, "I'm *not* ready for my close-up, Mr. De Mille." As we know from their parking and filming habits, Hollywood is never gainsaid. If they are going to do a close-up, a close-up they will do. These are the people who could impose a New World Order. Perhaps they could solve the Bosnian problem by rumbling about the countryside with their cameras and herding Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Albanians, and whoever else passes by into appropriate sections of the country just by threatening them with close-ups.

None of which is to say that they were anything but pleasant and polite and encouraging along with their efficiency. Even though we did repeated takes with slight variations in dialogue and many variations in camera angles, the whole undertaking was over in an hour. They had already done another shoot for the same show that morning at the UCLA track field and were going to do yet another somewhere else that afternoon. So Michael and his team thanked me graciously, gave me two Fox Sports baseball caps, and bade me farewell, mentioning on the way that the show would air a week from the next day, which would be Sunday the 21st of January, meaning they had only a few days ahead of them to edit it all together and get tapes distributed and so on. But, as I say, they move with dispatch. As for the dislocation in Criticus's life, it was minimal and hardly adequate recompense for Mark's good deeds.

Alarmed as Criticus was by the thought of a close-up on national television, he told but a small number of people that he was going to appear, trusting that no one else would notice. I was further reassured when the television guides failed to carry the listing. Perhaps it was all cancelled. No, it was an oversight somewhere in the production process. I trust heads rolled. But I was not out of the woods. There are apparently many who know by football watcher's intuition when the "All-Madden Team" will air. Or they simply cruise the channels on that in-between Sunday in desperate search for anything that has to do with their sport of choice. In any case, they all watched.

I watched too. My bit came on fairly early in the hour. The whole editing style — Michael's, I presume — was quick cuts, fast pacing, abrupt and sometimes unconventional angles — in short a much more rapid-fire rat-tat-tat way of keeping viewers' attention than any little sequin-filled wand. As far as that goes, the wands and the books were left behind on the cutting room floor. As was Criticus's scholarly explanation of the meaning and function of diacritical marks. What we did get, however, was the heart of the great Tres-Très-Tré disquisition. And blessedly without any really leering close-ups. It was designed, and successfully so, as a counterbalance to Madden's perplexity about the accent and Tré's own unsure explanation. Here we had the word from a real scholar, or as much of it as the huddled masses could be expected to grasp. It lasted about fifteen seconds. Take that, Mr. Soupcan.

So, the delivery of this great argument, as Milton phrased it, having been accomplished, Criticus could now go back into society in all his anonymity. Except that shortly after the show, the telephone began its ringing. Cousins and kinfolk from the hills and hollers had watched the show, demonstrating yet again what our national religion really is. They thought it was some kind of proof of consequence that Criticus should have been elevated to the glory of the "All-Madden Team" show. At the other end, a colleague from another university rang to complain about my setting myself up as a language expert when clearly he was a greater one.

By the end of the day the tumult and the shouting had died. On the morrow I went out to gather in the mail and found Don the postman in the act of depositing it. "Hey," he said, "I saw you yesterday on television. That was great. I never knew you knew John Madden!" Even inconstant readers will have figured out by now that I not only do not know John Madden, I never set eyes on him during my participation in his show. But I think somewhere along the way in the program Madden declared that he too wanted an accent mark on his name. Maybe next year on the "All-Madden Team" I'll explain how he might deploy one. I should be able to do so in fifteen seconds. CPR

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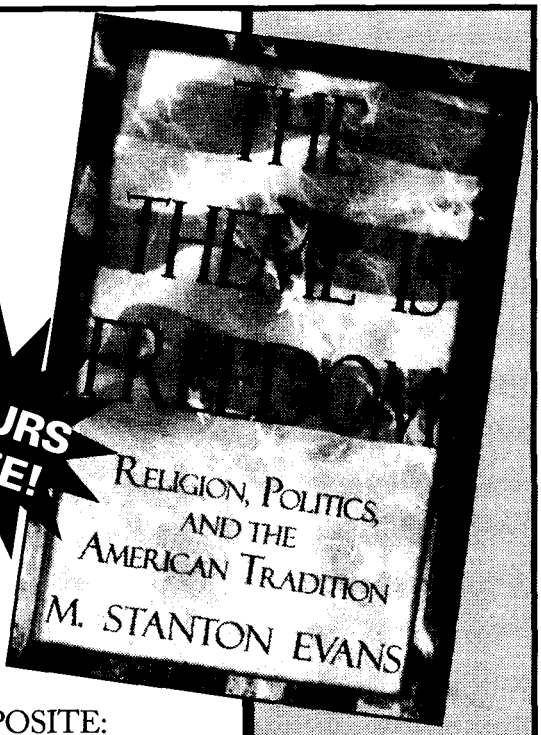

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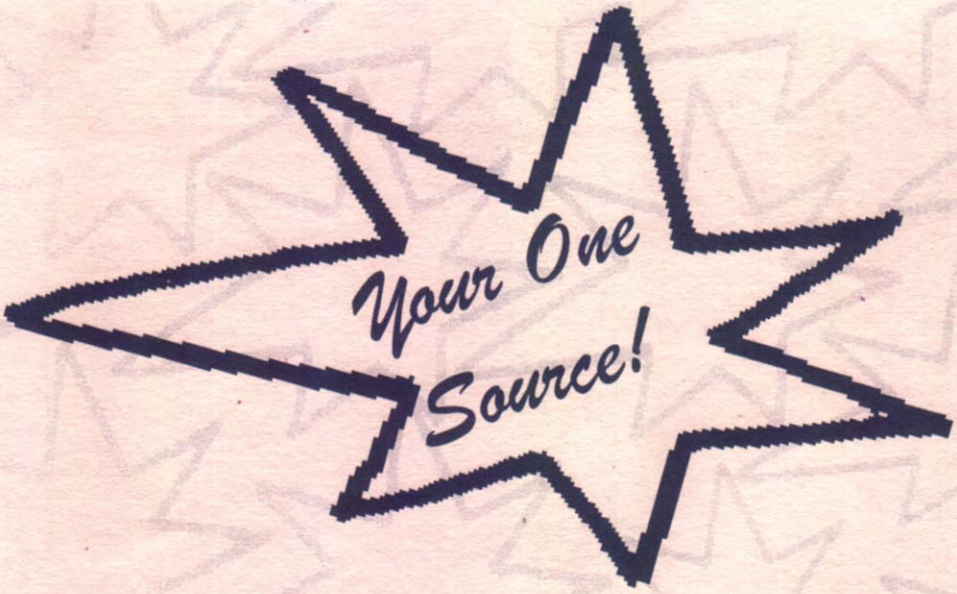

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